Two large population movements are observed in the Philippines; one is from rural to urban areas and the other from areas of high population density to areas of lower density. The low ratio of males to females (ages 15 to 34 years) in the barrios surveyed by the Rivera-McMillan study suggests that rural to urban migration is selective of young males.

Since Chapter III discusses the historical growth of Negros' population, this section is concerned with present demographic patterns. (See Plate XIII.)[1] The population of Negros is concentrated in plains and lowlands; the rugged Central Mountain range and the isolated Tablas plateau are relatively blank on the population map. Large areas in southwestern Negros have less than 100 persons per square mile.

The increase in population densities of Negros between 1903 and 1948 are given in Table IX.[69]

TABLE IX

Population Densities in Negros (Persons Per Square Mile)

Province (Island)	1903	1918	1939	1948
Negros (Total)	91	120	222	270
Negros Occidental	104	133	277	349
Negros Oriental (Excluding Siquijor)	77	107	166	191

1 [See p. 91, cat. 162--Analyst]

[69] The population densities differ in various sources due to the varying areas given Negros and its provinces and whether or not Siquijor is included in Negros Oriental. Census of the Philippine Islands: Taken under the Direction of the Philippine Commission in the Year 1903. Washington, D.C., U.S. Bureau of Census, 1905, II, p.28. Census of the Philippine Islands: 1918. Washington, D.C., Bureau of Printing, 1921, II, "Population and Mortality," p.28. Commission of the Census: Census of the Philippine Islands: 1939. Washington, D.C., Bureau of Printing, 1940, I, "Reports of Provinces, Part 3," page 4 of section on Negros Oriental and page 3 of section on Negros Occidental.

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The population of Siaton municipality increased from 10,074 in 1903 to 17,925 in 1948, and appears to have leveled off after 1939, lagging behind the island as a whole and Negros Oriental.[73] Over the same 45-year period (1903-1948) Negros' population increased 207 per cent; that of Siaton increased only 78 per cent. The percentage increase of Siaton's population between 1939 and 1948 was 6 per cent as compared with 15 per cent for Negros Oriental. A large part of this increase was due to World War II when people came to Siaton from Cebu, Bohol and Siquijor. Many of them did not return to their homes after the end of the war. It would seem that Siaton's saturation point has been reached under existing conditions.[74] Siaton's population growth from 1903 to 1948 is shown in Graph I. [166]

GRAPH I
POPULATION GROWTH
SIATON MUNICIPALITY (1903 - 1948)

Sources: Censuses of the Philippines

[73] The 1918 and 1939 census figures for Siaton were, respectively, 13,183 and 16,968.

[74] Improved sanitation and medical facilities would influence this statement but there appears to be no justification for expecting drastic improvements within the near future.

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near the sea, the people can both farm and fish. Improved road conditions and the desire for land probably led many to move to this "frontier" before the last war. 161

During the war and Japanese occupation of Negros, Bonawon was ideally situated. It was too far from either Tolong or Siaton to be patrolled. People from Zamboanguita, Bacong and Cebu (particularly Bato and Santander) came to Bonawon. As the new persons settled in Bonawon, they prospered. Many who arrived as tenants are now small landowners. They attracted relatives and friends from Negros and Cebu. Others married and decided to settle permanently in the locality after the war. These factors appear to be the primary reasons for the increase in the population of Bonawon. According to local informants, no new territory was added to Bonawon between 1939 and 1948.[78] 166 161

Table X[1] illustrates the relation of Siaton municipality to the remainder of the province in regard to barrio district and poblacion population sizes. The average population of the 21 municipalities of Negros Oriental in 1948 was 18,390 which is almost the same as that of Siaton. The chart indicates that the average 161

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[78] In 1952 a proposal was approved by the municipal council of Siaton to create a new barrio, Tambo, within Bonawon district. The proposal was prompted because "Bonawon is over-populated and one barrio lieutenant cannot attend properly to his duties." [632]

1 [See p. 101, Cht. 161 - - Analyst]

later left Tanjay. It is reported that when Sanchez returned to Tanjay his converts, who had been under the charge of a secular priest, had remained steadfast in their faith. 175*

In 1591 a Spaniard named Ossorio collected 160 tributes (representing 640 persons) from the Tanjay settlement while Juan Martin collected from both Tanjay and Negros (probably just eastern Negros) 557 tributes (representing 2,228 persons). At this time the region was said to be pacified. There are some scattered references to specific populations in western Negros at this period. Albaro Perez reportedly collected 350 tributes (1,400 persons) from the Bago River locality while Francisco de Herrera collected 500 tributes (2,000 persons) from along the Ynavaga River (Binalbagan).[23] 175* 162

It was not until 1620 that Dumaguete was created as a pariah independent of Tanjay under the first curate of the present capital, Juan de Rosa y Herrera. Father Herrera later organized churches in Iliga-on or Hiliga-on (Giliga-on, Siaton) and Cauitan (Sta. Catalina?). On the eastern coast of Negros the settlement moved both north and south from the Bais lowland. Tayasan was founded in 1790, Jimalalud in 1797, and Guihulngan in 175* 166 175*

[23] Dasmarinas in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., VIII, pp. 131 and 136. Jesus states that when the Binalbagan convent was turned over to the Jesuits, there were 1,500 families living in the vicinity. Luis de Jesus "Historia General de Los Religiosos Descalzos" (Early Recollect Missions in the Philippines), Madrid, 1681. Partial translation in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXI, p. 244.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

1800. South of Dumaguete Bacong was established in 1801 while Dauin was said to have existed since 1777. Siaton became a parish independent from Dumaguete in 1796 which is probably an indication of the increasing population in the region. In 1835 Dauin was separated from Siaton as an independent parish. After this separation the Siaton parish included the territory south of Zamboanguita and east of the Sicopon River, east of present day Tolong. Not until 1866 did Zamboanguita become an independent parish, being separated from Dauin. The creation of these independent parishes indicates a growing population in these localities, able to support a priest and a local church.[24]

In western Negros the settlement moved both south and north as in the other part of the island, although the expansion appears to have been somewhat slower. There was a movement south, with Augustinian missions founded in the small riverine plains of Cauayan, Isio, Inayauan and Sipalay. The lack of an attractive topography and the existence of hostile primitive groups in the region probably discouraged continued expansion in this direction.

Vallodolid, Saravia and Escalante are said to have been established in 1860, although for Saravia this was merely changing of its former name, Tecgaguan. San Carlos and Calatrava are reported to have been established

[24] Licinio Ruiz, Sinopsis Historica de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de Las Islas Filipinas de la Orden de Agustino Descaizos. Manila, Tpi. Pont. de las Univ. de Sto. Tomas, 1925, pp. 142, 146-51.

during the office of Governor Saravia which began in 1856. The movement of the capital of western Negros is a rough indicator of the growth or shift of population in this part of the island. In the beginning the capital was located at Ilog, later it was moved to Himamaylan and finally in 1849 to Bacolod.[25] Bacolod became the capital at the start of the great expansion of population and development of western Negros, due to the sugar industry.

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The Beginning of the Moro Raids

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One factor which hindered the development of Negros and the expansion of its population was the Moro raids on the island and the other Visayas, that began in the last part of the 16th century. In 1276 Mohammedanism reached Malacca. In 1380 Mukdum, an Arab missionary-scholar, arrived in Sulu "and there laid the foundation of Mohammedanism in the Philippines."[26] The Mohammedan conquest of Mindanao was accomplished in the last part of the 16th century. When Legaspi began his conquest of Luzon in 1571, he found many Mohammedanized Filipinos in the island, some having trade relations with Borneo.[27] Filipinos who had been converted to Islam were called Moros by the Spaniards.

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[25]Galang and Osias, op. cit., VIII, pp. 400-406.

[26]Zaide, op. cit., pp. 41-2.

[27]Edward G. Bourne, "Historical Introduction," Blair and Robertson, op. cit., I, p. 34.

175*
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Shortly after Suniga's visit, the Moros raided Bokoboko, burning the houses and chapel. Fearing their return, the people under Apak's leadership moved their settlement inland to Olambid. Today Olambid is an isolated sitio in the vicinity of Apoloy, about 6 miles from the coast.[36] Another Moro attack was made on southern Negros in 1792. In 1796 Siaton was declared a parish independent from Dumaguete. The parish priest for Siaton, however, lived in Dauin due to the frequency of Moro forays on southern Negros.

While at Olambid, Gadiane writes, "the people did not sleep for their fear of the Moros persisted." At this time a resident of Olambid was captured by the Moros when he was at the beach. He was taken to either Jolo or Borneo. As a slave he had to pound palay for his masters but each day stole a little rice for his escape. Later he obtained a boat and returned to Olambid. By 1797 there was about ninety people living in Olambid. They had built a chapel and a casareal (town hall). In 1781 Buroganibong was succeeded in office by Capitan Okol.

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[36] Ruiz writes that the settlement was originally at Olambit (Olambid) and later moved to Mauauas, near the present cemetery. Because of Moro raids of 1792, the people fled to the hills for safety where they remained until 1832. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

[37] The capitans between Okol and Tondoy were: Bukol; Bindal; Enrique, nicknamed "Piro"; Tonio; Torino; Hantoy; and Uanti.

During the office of Capitan Tondoy (1797-1798) a fierce baguio (typhoon) raged over southern Negros for three days. 175* 731

> If the bananas were not broken, they were uprooted. The Siaton river overflowed its banks. After the third day, when the waters subsided, the branch of the Siaton river dried up and its waters mingled with the main river at Pangligiran hill. (See Plate XIX.)[1]

A swampy area was created along the coast where the branch of the river once flowed, a region which exists today, planted with nipa palms. Now it was impossible for boats to ascend the Siaton River to dock near the present site of the Catholic church as they had done in the past.

In 1797 or 1798 the people moved from Olambid southward near the present Sitio Nawakat. (See Plate XX.)[2] The only reason given for this move in the Cadiane manuscript was that the new location was more advantageous because it was elevated and the people could see if the Moros landed at the beach. Another Moro raid was made during the office of Capitan Pinamdo (nicknamed "Kilikot"), 1801-02.[38] The Moros landed near the base of Pangligiran hill which is located on the west bank of the Siaton River where it is now bridged by the National Road. In 1817 the people agreed to move from their present location to Mangudkod, now Sitio Ilongsoran, 175* 166

[38] Many of the names listed by Cadiane during this period are nicknames. The custom of giving a person a nickname is widespread in the Philippines today. For an interesting discussion of this practice see G. T. Ortiz, "Amusing Nicknames," Philippines Free Press, XLIV, No. 15 (April 11, 1953), p. 43.

1 [See p. 156, Cat. 116 Analyst]

2 [See p. 157 Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

Barrio Casala-an. This new site was south of Nawakat, about four or five miles from the coast. Just before they departed the people held an election and Stib was made capitan.

175 166 [623]

The subsidence of Moro raids during the first part of the 19th century was not the sole reason for this gradual southward migration of the community. In fact, Moro raids were to continue into the latter half of the 19th century.

> When the town was at Mangudkod the people were always ready for any eventualities, because even in this far place the Moros were always paying them a visit in order to make captives of the people.

Neither does exhaustion of the land nor overcrowding seem to have been the most important factors for this movement toward the sea. Famines were said to have been unknown. The crops were abundant--"even if they could plant only once a year the crops would last for three years." The attraction of the lowlands with perhaps more fertile soil and located near the sea, however, was strong.

One factor of considerable significance which helps to explain this southward migration of the original nucleus of Siaton poblacion was the desire of the priests to bring the Filipinos "under the bells." To have the people concentrated in more accessible lowland

settlements facilitated the tasks of governing, taxing and converting them.[39] Gadiane writes: 175* 166

> The priests in those days found it difficult to go to Mangudkod because the way was covered with trees. Therefore, they suggested that the people transfer their barrio from Mangudkod to Kalumpang which was near the present cemetery of the poblacion.

So the people moved south, within a mile of the coast. At this time it appears that more Filipinos lived in the Siaton River valley than on the small plain of Canaway; the 1903 census figures suggest this settlement pattern. The exposed nature of the plain to Moro attacks was one reason why it was less attractive to early settlers; as previously noted the barriofolk of Bokoboko abandoned their Canaway community because of Moro attacks and moved inland. This is only one example how Moro expeditions against the people of southern Negros influenced early population patterns in this area.

When the people lived at Mangudkod a priest called Valero (nicknamed Paring Gulang, i.e. "Old Priest") who resided in Dauin, made occasional visits to the community. By the 19th century the influence of the Catholic church was expanding in this community; Gadiane states about 1817 (during Capitan Etib's office) the position of cristan was first opened to the barriofolk of Mangudkod. 175* 794

> This was the first time Filipinos were made cristans to a white priest. The people appointed as cristans had to attend to various services at the church in Dauin. They were to serve the priest one week and then another group would replace them. But this was not really followed. Instead of serving by weeks they served by months.

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[39] James L. LeRoy, Philippine Life in Town and Country. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, p. 43.

While Siaton was an independent parish, including Dauin, the priest still lived in Dauin due to the danger of Moro raids in Siaton. 175*

The first tributes were collected in 1817 from the people of Mangudkod. Individuals over eighteen years had to pay twenty centavos (ten cents) to the government. The tribute (or tributo) was established during Legaspi's day and was a kind of head tax paid to Spain. The tribute was payable in money or kind to the encomenderos.[40] 175* 65

In 1817 or 1818 an earthquake occurred in southern Negros "which lasted for nearly three months", i.e., the after-shocks. 175* 731 252

> The earth was always moving, so the people had difficulties in cooking their food. They had to build a big fire and hang their pots over it. Or they cut one bamboo node, put rice inside, added water, and corked the end. They threw this node into the fire and when the bamboo was charred, the rice was cooked.

This was one of the many earthquakes which shook this region; some caused serious destruction.

During the office of Capitan Etib (1817-1818) the group decided to send a small colony from Mangudkod to begin a settlement which is today Barrio Bonbonon. Bonbonon is situated near the bluff of the southern 175* 166

[40] The payment made in Siaton, according to Gadiane, was not that common in the Philippines. At first the tributo was eight reales (about fifteen centavos), raised to ten in 1602 and twelve reales in 1851. Zaide, The Philippine Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 171.

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part of the Bondo plateau overlooking the small bay which then was a favorite Moro landing place. Bonbonon was to serve as a warning post for the people of Mangudkod in case of Moro attack. A group of twenty-three persons was selected and put under the leadership of former Capitan Uanti.[41]

175* 166 ●

Life in Bonbonon was peaceful for several years. There were no Moro raids, although the people often could see their praos (boats) sailing off their coast. Then the raids began. During one raid the Moros sneaked into the sleeping barrio and captured Yngo, Bigas, Dalis, Ondoy, Oka and Takbo. The following morning Uanti and the people learned of the raid "but the Moros were already far out to sea, shouting because of their happiness."

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Uanti was credited with many miraculous powers. When the people began to build a church at Bonbonon, Uanti carried posts which would have taken fifty normal men to lift. Later another Moro raid was made on Bonbonon.

175* 539

> When the Moros came near Uanti, he became very big and tall. His body was about 12 feet wide and 36 feet tall. Then he suddenly became afire which shone brightly. When the Moros saw all these things, they ran back to their praos.

Uanti died at ninety-two years just when the Bonbonon church was completed.

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[41] The group was composed of Uanti, Eri, Solicy, Tacio (nicknamed Alimpolos, "whirlwind"), Salangsang, Silino, Olpos, Dalis and Ondoy and their wives. The bachelors were Bigas, Oka, Takbo and Yngo. This incident was verified by a few old inhabitants of present-day Bonbonon.

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Agustin Omedillas (Agustin Olmidillas in the Gadiane manuscript) was the first Recollect father assigned to the Siaton parish in September, 1848. In 1849 he was transferred to Himamaylan and succeeded by Tomas Mezquita. Omedillas appears also to be the first Siaton parish priest who made his permanent residence in Siaton. In 1848 Fr. Romauldo Gimeno (Ruiz - Romauldo Jimeno), Archbishop of Cebu, petitioned that the Recollects be given full possession of the administration of Negros. This request was granted a year later by Father Superior F. Joaquin Soriano.[46] The Recollects (Spanish, Recoletos), also known as the Descalzos (literally, barefooted) in Spain, were a reform branch of the Augustinians that came to the Philippines in 1606. Besides working in Negros, they established themselves in Luzon, Mindoro, Calamianes, Cebu, Bohol and Misamis, Mindanao. At the start of the 20th century there were 522 Recollects in the islands.[47]

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In 1819 or 1820, the people moved from Mangudkod to Kalumpang. Before leaving Mangudkod an election was

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[46] Zehaux, op. cit., p. 10, and Ruiz, op. cit., p.146.

[47] "Decrees Regarding Religious Orders. Felipe III and Others," (Valladolid, 1604). Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XIII, pp. 246-7, and Wilcox, Marrion (ed.) Harper's History of the War in the Philippines. New York, Harpers and Brothers, 1900, p. 362.

175*
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held and Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed Escongyawa ("Escong the Devil") was elected capitan. Francisco's last name, Sugboanon, means he was a Cebuano, which is the first indication in Gadiane's history of emigrants from Cebu in Siaton. About four hundred people are said to have moved from Mangudkod to Kalumpang. However, not all of the settlers left Mangudkod.[48]

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When the people settled at Kalumpang the office of cabeza de barangay was installed for the first time and the tribute was increased to seventy centavos (thirty-five cents) according to the Gadiane manuscript. A road was built from Kalumpang to the beach to replace the old footpath that followed the Canaway River bank. The present site of Siaton poblacion was then "covered with trees, tall grass, and swamps. Wild pigs, carabaos, and deer lived there."

175*
726

The fear of Moro raids continued among the people. A stone watch tower (called Bantayan or Baloarte) was built at the beach near the Canaway River mouth. The men from Kalumpang took turns watching for Moros from this tower. How disturbing a force the Moros must have been on the daily life of the people in this area is illustrated by the following paragraph from the Gadiane manuscript.

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[48] After Capitan Pinando came Intoy (1803-04); Monty (1805-06); Alfonso (1807-08); Senforoso (1809-10); Cruz (1811-12); Jantoy (1813-14); Abang (1815-16); Etib (1817-18); Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed "Escongyawa" (1819-1820).

According to the gulang [old people] when the Moro boats were far out to sea there occurred a strong wind and rain. Maybe the Moros were baliw [supernaturally cursed with bad luck] because of the toko. 175* 787 825

This why today the gulang will say to a child who oversleeps: 'My God!, if it were like the old days when the Moros came to our place to make captives, children who overslept would find on awakening they would be sleeping in a Moro boat far out at sea.' The children today reply: 'I don't believe you.'

Founding of Siaton Poblacion

Kalumpang proved to be an unsatisfactory site because of its hilly nature and rocky soil. Capitan Francisco Sugboanon, who had been re-elected in 1827, and the former capitans met, discussed the matter, and brought it to the attention of the people. The barriofolk were divided on the selection of a new site. The people living in Bondo, Canaway, and Inalad wanted the new location to be on their (east) side of the Canaway River. The inhabitants of Mangudkod (who had not migrated to Kalumpang), Lingaton (a sitio of Sandolot), Dolog, Casala-an, Sandolot, Dateg, and Mantuyop desired the new community to be located on the Canaway's west bank. 175* 166

It was finally decided, due to the differences of opinion, to hold a paleo. A paleo was a method of voting, particularly well-suited for illiterate groups. Every individual, young and old, man and woman, had one vote, i.e., one stone. These stones were to be put in a certain spot on a designated day. 175* 623

River, and had 714 tributos (taxpayers). Using the ratio 1:4 this would mean by the middle of the 19th century there were about 2,800 people in the Siaton parish. This figure includes only the Christian Filipinos, not the pagans who lived in the mountains; there were many in the parish. For example, when Mezquita made his first visit to Bawayan (Tolong) he baptized 100 monteses (hill or pagan people). Visits to Basay (west of Tolong) by Mezquita resulted in eighty baptized pagans and another visit gained the Church an additional thirty converts.

The Population of Negros in 1845

Negros' population had not grown very rapidly since the Spaniards' arrival. In 1845-50 the island had its first fairly detailed census based upon the municipal unit. Using the tribute ratio 1:5 Negros was estimated to have a population of 58,720 persons in 1845.[52] There were two major population centers, the Bais lowland and the vicinity of Bacolod. In western Negros the population concentration had been steadily moving north probably due to the availability of excellent land and the proximity of overcrowded Panay. On the other hand, both Echauz and Marco state that in 1850 there were only 30,000 inhabitants in Negros which had seventeen towns (pueblos).[53] It is difficult to determine which estimate

[52] Buzeta and Bravo, op. cit., pp. 555-9.

[53] Echauz, op. cit., p. 33 and Marco, op. cit., p. 99. Marco probably used Echauz and Echauz gives no indication of his source for this population estimate.